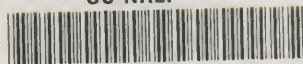


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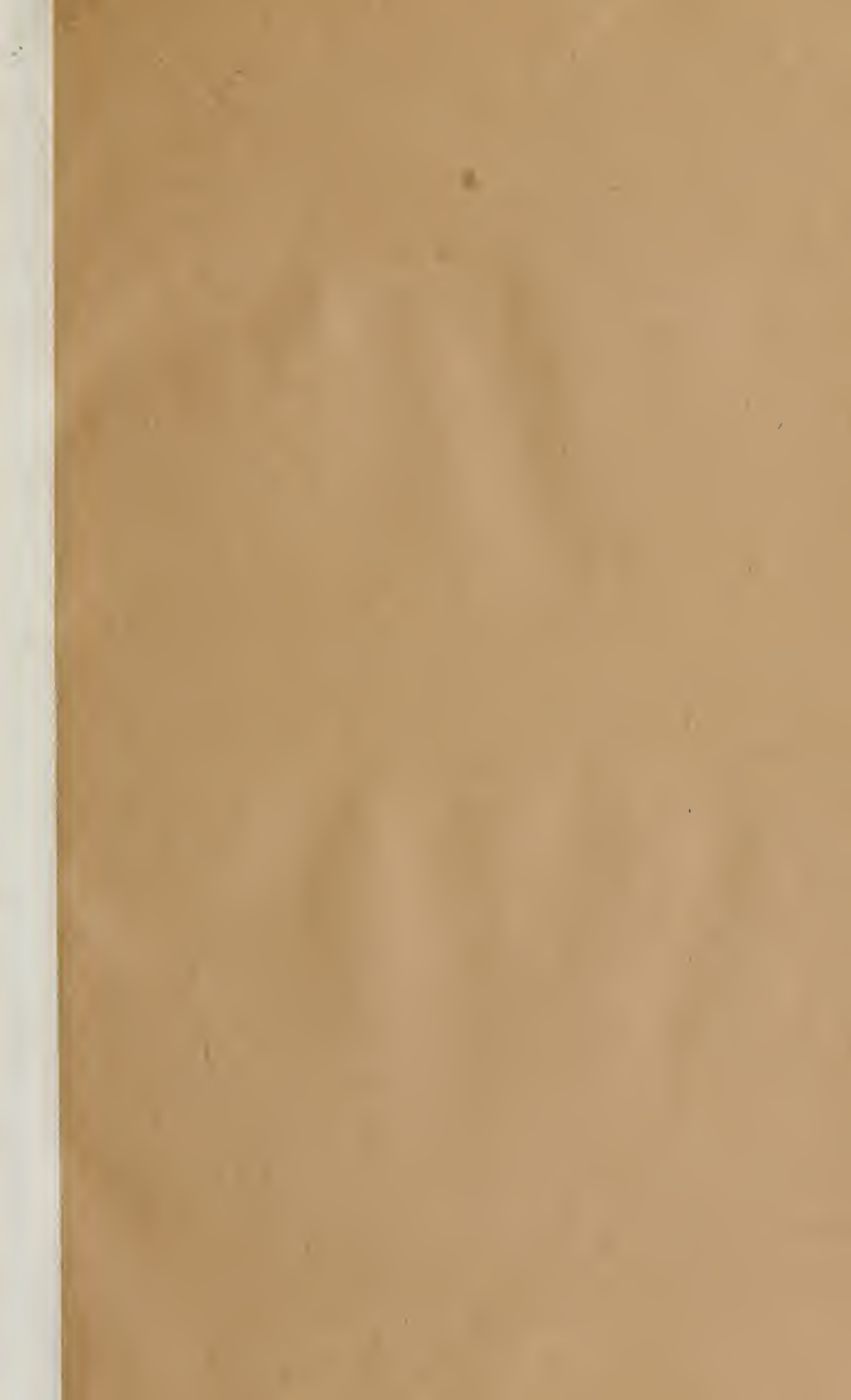
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POLAND, RUSSIA
AND THE
WAR

BY
LAURENCE ALMA TADEMA

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POLAND, RUSSIA, AND THE WAR.

The object of the present pamphlet is to place before the public a few documents which may serve to dispel any doubts existing as to the nature of Russo-Polish relations, doubts to which must be attributed the excessive timidity displayed by certain sections of the press in handling the Polish Question.

I. Does Russia mean to keep her word ?

II. Does Poland really believe that Russia means to keep her word ?

These two unanswered queries seem to be the main stumbling-blocks to a fair, generous and logical appreciation by Great Britain of the part being played by the Polish Nation in the present war.

“The Polish Question” has been written across the face of Europe since a century and a half, written in capitals but, as it were, in invisible ink which the fire of war has now suddenly brought to sight.

France, in whose midst evidence of Poland's pulsating existence has never been lacking, was not unprepared for the apparition ; England, in her sea-girt isolation, seems not yet to have discerned the writing on the wall ; but Russia, Prussia and Austria have lived under the shadow of those words ever since three Monarchs of German race, Frederick II. of Prussia, Catherine II. of Russia, and Maria Theresa of Austria, swooped black

of wing upon the White Eagle of Poland and piece meal dismembered a living Nation. (1772, 1793, 1795).

Russia need not now be held responsible for her part in that crime; judgment of her attitude during her domination of the central and most essential part of Poland must be suspended; for it is recognised to-day that she herself was not entirely free. Youngest of the great European Powers, unevenly developed, the Russian Empire has hitherto been prevented by the stealthy domineering hand of Prussia from entering upon that era of free personal development to which this great war of emancipation is the tumultuous prelude.

British Historians will find themselves studying the Slavonic Empire in a different light when the liberation of Western Europe from the Prussian menace has been achieved by Eastern Europe; the origins of Prussia are an inextricable part of Polish history, and it seems as if the Justice of Destiny had now called Poland forth from the tomb where she lay buried alive, in order that she might wrestle in supreme combat with her old perfidious vassal, upon the very gravestone beneath which he himself had laid her.

Those who did not know that Poland and Prussia were death-foes knew neither Poland nor Prussia. It was supposed by many at the outbreak of this cataclysmic war that Poland would betray Russia. The Germanic coalition possessed two main parts of Poland, Posnania and Galicia, comprising a Polish population of about 10 millions; Russia's portion represented a

Polish population of about 12 millions; and it is evident that had the Kingdom of Poland risen against Russia in early August, throwing the whole Polish cause into the scale on Germany's side, there could have been no invasion of East Prussia by the Russian forces at a moment of critical importance to the Allies, and the present battle-line would be not West but East of the Vistula.

Stress must be laid upon the fact that Prussia and Austria both did their utmost by proclamations, sudden concessions, sentimental appeals and secret machinations to bind their own Polish provinces to them and to bring about a revolution in the Kingdom. It may be taken for a fact that Russia more than half expected to meet with disloyalty in Poland; while the enemy was whispering in Poland's ear she made no attempt to bribe Polish adherence; she even retired from the frontier which she left undefended, allowing Prussia to walk over and set his claw on Czestochowa, Poland's most sacred shrine, and simultaneously to appropriate the rich mining districts—a happy combination of spiritual and material advantages.

It was now that Poland showed her implacable hatred of Prussia, and that deeper blood affinity which, in spite of visible diversity of growth, united her by the root to the Slavonic Empire. The Russian Pole without hesitation threw in his lot with Russia. He knew, alas! that almost a million of his brethren across the border were forced to fight with the enemy's colours owing to the laws of compulsory service. He had no means of

letting his divided brother know of his attitude; and when Russia, moved by Polish loyalty, by the rush of Polish volunteers to the standard, uttered through the Commander-in-Chief of her Armies an inspired proclamation of freedom for Poland, the tragic Poles of Austria and Prussia were kept from the knowledge that a new dawn of emancipation and re-union was at hand.

It is generally known to-day that the Polish volunteers called for by Austria have been few in number since the first period of bewilderment; in Prussian Poland there have been no volunteers; in both Austria and Prussia the overwhelming majority of the Poles are at heart solidary with the Kingdom of Poland. At the outbreak of war, before the Galician Pole had time to take his bearings, there was a perfectly natural first movement of allegiance to Austria, beneath whose government he had enjoyed the rights of his own faith and language, together with a general semblance of freedom unknown to his brother in the North, privileges which had drawn from him a full measure of gratitude. But he was soon aware that behind Vienna there loomed the shadow of Berlin; and, turning from this peril, he was bound by a deeper instinct to set his face towards Warsaw, even if in ignorance of the dawn promised by Petrograd.

It is not easy for an Englishman to understand the monstrous position of a nation fictitiously divided within itself by boundaries raised against nature; it is not against nature that three races should unite to form one nation; but it is against nature, monstrous and wholly evil, that a nation, pure of race, single of

purpose, should be subjected to the usurpation of sovereign rights over her one body by three separate masters. Poland has not been destroyed by this torture but she has suffered great injury, were it only in this that she has been prevented from undergoing a homogenous development, and is furthermore prevented, in this long-awaited hour of activity, from showing a united front, while held together heart and soul by one inextinguishable aspiration—National Unity.

If all this were understood, a larger measure of sympathy and interest would, even without knowledge of the details of their singular martyrdom, go forth to-day to the twenty-three million Poles who, from a state of passive and silent although passionate efforts to maintain National existence under the weight of unexampled oppression, have suddenly been hurled into the burning centre of that great European melting-pot in which Poland must either be finally consumed, or from which she must emerge re-shapen, shining, and whole.

It is perfectly comprehensible that Great Britain should speak aloud of the Belgian Martyrdom; she sees the Belgian victims, she hears their groans, she feels their peril. But surely it needs no impossible effort of imagination, on the part of a Nation known as the champion of wrongs, for the mind's eye to traverse Europe and grasp the fact that all the titanic Eastern battles are being fought on Polish earth. We ought to be able, even at a distance, to realise the ruin of the war-swept fields, the desolate farms, the desecrated Churches, the vanished villages where peace and beauty

can be no more, the fair country houses black and fallen, the mutilated forests, the polluted streams; we ought to be able to see the towns where industry is lamed, to bend over the corpses of the dead, to weep in indignation over the shuddering women, in pity over children starving in the land of their fathers.

We ought to be able to achieve this. Canute the English King who proudly sat and gave command to the sea-waves, was the son of a Polish mother. The future of aloof and sea-bound England is somehow mixed up, although she ignores it, with the fate of the Nation now yielding up its earth and its blood without murmur for the sake of a day when the Kingdom of Poland shall stretch once more from the Carpathians to the Baltic, a Kingdom free in culture and in soul, closely linked with the great Russian Empire, Prussia's foil, Germany's safeguard, and Britain's friend.

But before Great Britain cares to bestow thought upon the Polish people it will perhaps be necessary to re-assure her as to the actuality of Poland's faith in Russia and of Russia's faith in Poland.

A suspicion that England is afraid of offending Russia, of putting her foot in it, of coming up against "somebody else's Irish question" creeps inevitably into the mind of those who have looked in vain for whole-hearted recognition of Poland's necessarily unofficial though none the less active position as a belligerent and ally; yet it is fairly well known that a million of her men are fighting on our side; it has also been freely whispered that, had Great Britain allowed it,

50,000 Poles geographically out of reach of the Russian Empire would be serving to-day under the British Flag.

We hope that perusal of the following documents may set at rest all doubts as to Russia's heart-whole nobility of intention towards Poland. We hope too that a day may speedily come when Polish loyalty, dignity, valour and sacrifice may receive recognition here, when curiosity about Poland may rouse British public opinion to enquiry, when the Polish colours and the Polish National Anthem may receive in London some of the sympathy they receive in Petrograd, when, in fine, Poland may be accorded a place on the list of our Allies—not set apart and sharing the official dignity of Montenegro, but closely linked up with the honourable name of Russia, to whose victorious achievements she is contributing a share fully recognised by the Russian people, and of whose bygone history and future growth she represents an unalienable part.

LAURENCE ALMA TADEMA.

January 8th, 1915.

POLISH ATTITUDE IN THE DUMA.

On the 9th of August, 1914, Wiktor Jaronski, Deputy for Kielce, in the name of the Polish group made the following declaration in the Duma:—

In this historic moment, when the Slavonic world and the German, led on by that immemorial foe of Poland, Prussia, are standing up against one another in decisive encounter, the Polish Nation, bereft of independence and of the power of manifesting its own will, finds itself in a tragic situation. The tragedy is accentuated by the fact not only that Polish ground is the theatre of war, but that the Polish Nation, torn into three, beholds her sons in three camps enemy to one another.

Territorially divided, we Poles nevertheless in feeling and sympathy for the Slav must stand as one. [*Tumultuous applause and cries of Bravo.*] We are inclined hereto not only by the justice of the cause Russia has embraced but also by political reason.

The world-wide significance of the present moment relegates to the background all domestic reckonings. [*Tumultuous applause and long unsilenced cries of Bravo.*] God grant that Slavdom, under the leadership of Russia, may resist the Teuton, even as, five centuries

ago, Poland and Lithuania resisted him at Grunwald.*

May the blood shed by us, and the horrors of this to us fratricidal war, lead to the reconstitution of the dismembered Polish Nation. [*Tumultuous applause and cries of Bravo.*]

* Grunwald, a famous victory won by the Poles and Lithuanians, on July 15th, 1410, over the Teutonic Knights of the Cross; these warrior monks, invited by Poland after the Crusades to settle upon the Borussian borders and carry religion to the pagans of the Baltic, had become metamorphosed by ambition, treachery and crime, from Christian Knights into the living scourge of all neighbouring peoples. Had the Poles been as brilliant in politics as in arms, had they been calculating enough to drive a victory home, to annex conquered territory instead of being content with suzerainty, the Knights of the Cross need never have been further metamorphosed into Prussian Junkers.

PETERSBURG [*sic*]. A PROCLAMATION FROM THE
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF TO THE POLES.

Poles !

The hour has struck in which the sacred dream of your fathers and forefathers may find fulfilment.

A century and a half ago, the living flesh of Poland was torn asunder, but her soul did not die. She lived in hope that there would come an hour for the resurrection of the Polish Nation and for sisterly reconciliation with Russia.

The Russian Army now brings you the joyful tidings of this reconciliation. May the boundaries be annulled which cut the Polish Nation to pieces ! May that Nation re-unite into one body under the sceptre of the Russian Emperor. Under this sceptre Poland shall be re-born, free in Faith, in language, in self-government.

One thing only Russia expects of you : equal consideration for the rights of those nationalities to which history has linked you.

With open heart, with hand fraternally outstretched, Russia steps forward to meet you. She believes that the Sword has not rusted which, at Grunwald, struck down the enemy.

From the shores of the Pacific to the North seas, the Russian armies are on the march. The dawn of a new life is breaking for you.

May there shine, resplendent above that dawn, the sign of the Cross, symbol of the Passion and Resurrection of Nations !

(Signed)

Commander-in-Chief General Adjutant,

NICOLAS.

1 (14) *August*, 1914.

N.B.—The above Proclamation was issued in the Polish language, and is here translated from the original text as it appeared in the “*Gazeta Warszawska*” of August 16th.

REPLY OF THE POLISH POLITICAL PARTIES.

The following appeared in the "Gazeta Warszawska," August 17th, 1914:—

The representatives of the undersigned political parties, assembled in Warsaw on the 16th August, 1914, welcome the Proclamation issued to the Poles by His Imperial Highness the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Forces as an act of the foremost historical importance, and implicitly believe that upon the termination of the war, the promises uttered in that proclamation will be formally fulfilled, that the dreams of their fathers and forefathers will be realised, that Poland's flesh, torn asunder a century and a half ago, will once again be made whole, that the frontiers severing the Polish Nation will vanish.

The blood of Poland's sons, shed in united combat against the Germans, will serve as a sacrifice, offered upon the altar of her Resurrection.

THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL PARTY.

THE POLISH PROGRESSIVE PARTY.

THE REALIST PARTY.

THE POLISH PROGRESSIVE UNION.

Extract from a leading article which appeared on September 17th, 1914, in the "Gazeta Warszawska," chief organ of the Democratic National Party.

THE UNIFICATION OF POLAND.

We belong to a generation which has witnessed no great events and which therefore finds it difficult to rise above the grey level of everyday existence. Hence the doubt and incredulity pervading many a soul in the presence of events which have been brought about by Historical Necessity.

The developments which we are now witnessing have not been caused by the good or bad will of individuals; they are the actual expression of Historical Necessity, the result of conflict between mighty forces which shatter nations in order to give them new life.

The actions of those directing the politics of a state then bear the stamp of greatness when they are the expression of changes springing from the very nature of things. In the realms of social and political creativeness the human will, however powerful, can only be one factor; the decisive factors are the great historic forces.

Whoever has watched the working of these forces in contemporary Europe, had necessarily come to the conclusion that, following upon Germany's drift toward hegemony and upon the crystalization into states of the nationalities inhabiting Eastern Europe, the Polish Question must sooner or later emerge as an international

question. To such therefore as knew this before the war, the events now taking place could not come unexpectedly; the Proclamation of the Commander-in-Chief assumed the proportions of a great historic act, being no fantastic conceit, no mere artifice of war, but the expression and manifestation of historic destinies in course of fulfilment. This act will take its place beside other great deeds of state-wisdom, because behind it stands not only the will of individuals but something mightier than human power: Historical Necessity.

The present war is being waged against German hegemony wielded by Prussia. If the result of the war is to be a long-lasting period of peace and not a brief suspension of arms leading to yet another war still more terrible, then it must lead to the destruction of Prussia. In order to effect this, the Polish territories must be wrenched away and Poland must be re-established in such a form that she may set the whole tension of her vital forces against Prussia's usurping thirst for re-conquered power.

Whoever intends to break Prussia once and for ever, can only do so by the unification of the Polish territories. The leaders of foreign policy in Russia understand this. We know it through various sources, but present confirmation of this certitude is to be found in a communication prominently placed in a recent number of "The Bourse Gazette," a communication evidently emanating from authoritative circles. We there read:

"Our diplomacy, in perfect accord with the allied governments, will not allow of any peace deliberations

whatsoever, direct or indirect, before the complete destruction of the nest of militarism in Germany, before the removal of Prussia from its present preponderant position among German States, before the complete satisfaction of England and France, before the Unification of Poland, before the attainment by us in their entirety of all our demands both Russian and Pan-Slavic. Until such a time, all the efforts of Count Berstorff and other German diplomatic agents will remain fruitless."

Facts are increasing in number which testify to the wisdom and foresight of those politicians who affirmed that only upon Prussia's ruins could Poland rise and build herself anew, facts which prove that we have working in our cause the greatest of all strengths, Historical Necessity.

This does not absolve us from collaboration, from consecrating the work of our hands and minds to our great and holy task. The first conditions of this task demand the raising of the tone of our internal life, the lifting of our eyes from the every-day levels and the bold fixing of our gaze upon the greatness of the historic moment. Let us realise that no endeavour, suffering or sacrifice bears comparison with the magnitude of the goal, with the dazzling brightness of the future to which present events are leading us.

POLISH NATIONAL COUNCIL.

The newly-formed Polish National Council issued in Warsaw on November 25th, 1914, the following Manifesto addressed to the Poles in all three Empires:—

Countrymen!

When the present war broke out, our nation instantly became aware that an important page of her history was being turned, that her future hung in the balance.

Poland's most dread foe, who had vowed her complete annihilation, who with approved cunning had, through wide-spread influence, armed all forces against us, suddenly stood forth as the enemy not only of ourselves but of almost the whole of Europe. And we who hitherto alone in desperate daily strife had defended against this enemy the domains of our fathers, all at once saw lifted against him the arms of the world's great powers: Russia, France, England.

We had always understood on which side our place would be. This was now indicated without hesitation by the thought of all sections of the community, by the healthy instinct of the people themselves.

Germany's defeat in this struggle meant victory for us.

Our attitude was responded to by Russia through the Proclamation of the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, a proclamation announcing the fulfilment of our

most sacred desires, the joining together of the dismembered body of the Nation, her freedom of being and of growth. This proclamation found an echo among Russia's western allies: the restoration of Poland was seen to be one of the great tasks of this bloody war, a task crying for accomplishment. And our Nation itself received the proclamation with all the more ardour. There stood clearly expressed before the world that purpose which a new dawn had illumined for us at the very outbreak of war.

In presence of this purpose, of the efforts and sacrifices necessary to its realization, all the conflicts and tortures of yesterday faded into the past. One object alone confronted the Nation: the overthrow of Germany's sinister power, the unification of Poland under the sceptre of the Russian Monarch.

Upon this object our Nation concentrated herself, towards this end turned all her endeavours.

From the very first it was recognised by the majority that if singleness of purpose were to find expression in unity of action, it must first find pilotage. We understood that the historic magnitude of this moment thrust aside all the programs for which we had been combating, that in time of war party must cease to speak. The Nation, acting as a whole, was bound to produce one national organization competent to give expression to the manifest will of the immense majority. The creating of this organization, of this pilotage, had to be undertaken by those who above all were responsible for the country's politics.

The undersigned, deputies from the Kingdom of Poland to both legislative bodies of the Empire, former deputies, and leaders of social work in this country, have united with the object of drawing together around the common cause all our countrymen irrespective of views or convictions, unanimous only in the possession of one purpose, and herein expressing to-day the clear will of the Nation. Not being able, owing to present conditions, to assemble all those whom they would desire to see in their midst, and purposing to fill out the frame according to the measure of their work's progress, they realise that further delay in setting about that work would carry detriment to the cause. Therefore the undersigned this day unite to form a Polish National Council, thus laying the foundation of Poland's political organization, giving expression to her leading tendencies, making her one in purpose and in deed.

The Nation is at this moment with the whole of her strength helping to secure victory over the Germans. Our youth has rushed with ardour into the ranks of that Russian army in which the sons of our land are fighting in hundreds of thousands for the great cause; the Polish civil population has zealously co-operated with that army, doing all in its power to assist in the struggle against our mighty foe; and whereas war has carried to our territory unevaded devastation, ruin and destitution, we are bearing the calamity with calm, confident in a luminous morrow for the land of our fathers. The foe did not terrify us by his strength, even when he appeared at the gates of our capital: nor did he deceive us by

his promises: the mass of the people preserved an unmoved composure in the presence of danger and replied to his protestations by contempt.

This unshaken attitude was maintained not only in those parts of the country which the enemy did not actually invade, but also there where he took possession, proclaiming his occupation as definite.

The enemy's expectations were equally disappointed in the case of the Polish detachments formed in Austria, to which a certain portion of our ignorant youth was drawn, beguiled by patriotic watch-words. These detachments, destined to decoy the population of the Kingdom into alliance with Austria and Germany, met with ill-will and opposition in all grades of a society possessing clear knowledge of its aims in this portentous hour.

Unavailing were the skilful intrigues of the Austrian Government, which sought for a while by deceptive appearances to prove that this armed movement had the support of all the political elements of Galicia. It stands clear to-day that the detachments of sharp-shooters have against them not merely the judgment of the Kingdom and of Prussian Poland, but also of the majority of our fellow-countrymen in the Austrian provinces.

Even to the least enlightened minds it became evident that the few whose hopes were fixed on Austria, as the only State in which our national rights had met with a measure of recognition, overrated her independence,

not having yet discovered that she had stooped to so low a part as to become the mere compliant tool of Prussian policy.

To-day, in face of the manifest will of the Polish Nation, which has with all the strength of its soul come forward against Germany, in face moreover of the fact that Germany alone is the opposing force, independent, conscious of her aims—whereas those who fight with her are simply the instrument of her schemes—in face of all this, any help wilfully given by Poles to Germany or her allies must be looked upon as a transgression against Poland.

The Russian army has, in Austria, already set foot upon earth Polish in pith and marrow, and we are now expecting its advance into those immemorial fastnesses of our Nation which Prussia possesses.

In this grave moment there lies before our fellow-countrymen in those parts the solemn duty of affirming that in thought and deed they are one with the rest of Poland. It behoves them to see to it that the enemy shall not impose upon them even the semblance of an act contrary to the purposes of our Nation. Such would be accounted any opposition whatsoever of the population against the Russian army, an opposition which Germany will infallibly attempt to rouse in many places.

Countrymen! Since a hundred years, boundaries have divided us which the circle of events have left untouched; to-day, the sons of our soil are being forced

to spill the blood of brothers, fighting in the ranks of their own enemies. This war, great, epoch-making, abolishes those boundaries and opens out a radiant morrow of re-union to our nation which in spirit never suffered itself to be divided. This our unity we to-day irrefutably confirm; for the national attitude bears testimony to the fact that in all parts of the great land of our fathers we Poles have one idea, one purpose:—the unification of Poland and the laying of foundations for the free development of the Nation.

Warsaw, *November 25th, 1914.*

THE POLISH NATIONAL COUNCIL.

<i>Zygmunt Balicki,</i>	<i>Zdisław Lubomirski,</i>
<i>Stefan Bądryński,</i>	<i>Maryan Lutosławski,</i>
<i>Stanisław Czekanowski,</i>	<i>Józef Nakonieczny,</i>
<i>Seweryn Czetwertynski,</i>	<i>Franciszek Nowodworski</i>
<i>Henryk Dembiński,</i>	<i>Konstanty Plater,</i>
<i>Roman Dmowski,</i>	<i>Maciej Radziwiłł,</i>
<i>Marceli Godlewski,</i>	<i>Jan Rudnicki,</i>
<i>Jerzy Gościcki,</i>	<i>Jan Stecki,</i>
<i>Władysław Grabski,</i>	<i>Ignacy Szebeko,</i>
<i>Jan Harusewicz,</i>	<i>Zygmunt Wielopolski,</i>
<i>Wiktor Jaroński,</i>	<i>Józef Wielowieyski,</i>
<i>Walenty Kamocki,</i>	<i>Stanisław Wojciechowski,</i>
<i>Czesław Karpiński,</i>	<i>Maurycy Zamoyski.</i>
<i>Stanisław Leśniowski,</i>	

NOTE.

The Executive Committee of the Council is composed of eight Members:

Mr. Zygmunt Balicki, *Editor of "Przegląd Narodowy" (National Review).*

Prince Z. Czetwertynski, *President of the Central Agricultural Society.*

Mr. Roman Dmowski, *former Chairman of the Polish Group in the Duma.*

Mr. Jerzy Goscicki, *Member of the Duma.*

Mr. Wl. Grabski, *Vice-President of the Central Agricultural Society.*

Mr. Henryk Dembinski, *former Member of the Duma.*

Prince Zdyslaw Lubomirski.

Count Z. Wielopolski, *Chairman of the Polish Group in the Council of Empire.*

Chairman of the National Council: Count Wielopolski.

Vice-Chairman: Prince Czetwertynski.

Chairman of the Executive Committee: Mr. Roman Dmowski.

First Secretary: Mr. Jerzy Goscicki.

Second Secretary & Treasurer: Count Konstanty Plater.

THE RUSSIAN PRESS AND THE POLISH NATIONAL COUNCIL.

[“Gazeta Warszawska,” November 30th, 1914.]

The Petrograd Press has reported in its entirety the Manifesto of the Polish National Council. Concerning the Manifesto, Professor Adryanow writes as follows in “The Bourse Gazette”:—

“On the leaden horizon of Russo-Polish relations the light has kindled of a dawn announcing the approach of that great day which, in the secret midnight talks of youth, was dreamed of by two of the greatest poets of the two greatest Slavonic Nations, Puszkin and Mickiewicz.

The proclamation of the Commander-in-Chief, announcing the national unification and regeneration of Poland, called forth enormous enthusiasm not only among the Poles but also among the Russians.

During four months of stubborn fighting, Polish psychology has succeeded in giving indubitable proof of its solidity. There have been no traitors to the Pan-Slavic cause among the Russian Poles, in spite of alluring German promises, in spite of the enemy’s menacing invasion of Polish soil. The German soldier here encountered stern unfriendliness; the Russian army met everywhere with flowers, with cordiality, with active help on the battlefield and on the bed of suffering. Events such as these do not pass leaving no trace upon

the memory of Nations. Dangers and sorrow shared in concord, victory attained by common effort, form a cement so mighty that no further ordeals need now be feared.

The unity which so shiningly expressed itself in practise is now finding for itself an organised form. In Warsaw a Polish National Council has come into being of which we print elsewhere the full Manifesto. We find expressed in this Manifesto the true feelings of the mass of the Polish people, although we miss the names of representatives of certain currents of Polish opinion. We have reason to hope that difference of opinion, in some minor matters, will not prevent those groups now absent from joining the Council in the name of a common goal.

While welcoming the manifesto as a program to which every Russian citizen could sign his name, we must especially underline the meaning of that part which calls upon the Poles of Galicia and Posnania to render no assistance to the German cause. The warning is particularly important at this moment when the Russian army has already invaded Austrian Poland and is on the eve of entering Prussian Poland. We may count upon it that the Manifesto will have power over those to whom it is addressed, for the Polish Political Parties already forming the National Council are organizations comprising in their ranks not only Russian Poles, but Poles from beyond the border. Thus, what is uttered in Warsaw represents the thought and will of Austrian and Prussian Poles as well as of

those who are Russian subjects. Furthermore the Manifesto prepares ground very favourably for our glorious army in those regions lying close to our frontiers. This should be taken very much into consideration and valued accordingly.

Let us not be exaggeratedly optimistic. We are not saying that all the complicated questions have vanished which are bound up with the reconstruction of a united Poland. There is no doubt that the practical realization of the programs published by the Commander-in-Chief and by the Warsaw Council presents difficulties. But thanks to what has already been said, the sting has been extracted from Russo-Polish relations, and buried once and for ever is the fear of Polish treachery to the state in Russia's hour of difficulty; buried too are hatred and lack of trust between the Poles and the Russian Nation.

It is necessary however to remember the lessons of history. Prussian influence in Russia has done many a wrong to our inward life. Only then when we shall have succeeded in pulling up the very roots of the Prussian spirit from Russian life, can many of our burning questions find solution, and among them the Polish Question. The Poles understood the true drift of events when arm in arm with us they stood forth against Germany. This understanding, developed on both sides to the uttermost conclusion, will serve as principle for the building up of Russo-Polish relations in the near future.

Meanwhile, a good beginning has been made."

[“Gazeta Warszawska.” Same date.]

The well-known Russian writer Bajan, has published in the “*Russkoye Slovo*” a glowing article in which, having confirmed the fundamental changes which have taken place in the relations between Russians and Poles, he expresses the conviction that, henceforward, these two Slavonic nations will be united in the bonds of a friendship which no intrigues of the enemies of either nation will be able to break asunder. Bajan holds the Polono-Russian reconciliation to be the condition of Russia’s future greatness and power.

“Poland in these last days,” he writes, “has seen both the Russian Tsar and the German Kaiser. William gave forth hysterical commands, he warbled and threatened amid the roar of the cannons which were destroying Polish sanctuaries and Polish homes. The Russian Tsar with sadness and love passed through his sorrowing country. There were no proclamations, neither threats nor demonstrative caresses. There were few words. But the ruined sanctuaries are being restored at the Tsar’s expense, and the Catholic Clergy has prayed together with the Orthodox Emperor. These two incidents give the finishing touch to the picture of Russo-Polish relations.

And yet of these relations it will still be necessary to speak much and convincingly. So deep a process cannot be accomplished without convulsions. So rapid

a recovery of health cannot take place without relapse into occasional attacks of disease.

The Polish Question has been settled irrevocably, but among both Poles and Russians there remains many a doubting Thomas. Poland beyond the border is still uncertain. It is necessary before all to set at rest the harassed Polish soul.

Do you not see the difference between that which was and that which is? Do you not feel, do you not understand, that such a moment never yet was, and never will be again? Can there be talk now of nationalists, of russifiers? A volcanic process is taking place, underground, and here you are speaking of the breeze which is on the surface. Are you unable to see that if the Russian Nation is in love with the Polish Nation, if the Russian community feels its one-ness with the Polish community, nobody, nothing—do you understand?—will be able to alter the course of history?

More and more am I convinced that other problems of Russia's past and future lie hidden in the Polish problem: According to my belief, the Polish Question is the nervous centre upon the health of which depends the health of the most remote organs. Through Warsaw and Cracow leads the road not only to Constantinople but also to Sinai, to Mecca, to Helsingfors, and above all to Paris and London, which means the West.

By cutting the Gordian knot of the Polish problem

we simultaneously find the solution of a considerable number of our problems, national, political, economical, and we establish for a long century the further course of our development.

The Sovereign's visit to Poland, and the direct gift from Petrograd to Warsaw, have closed, possibly, the first cycle of events solving the Polish question. Rivers do not flow backwards. The feelings of a nation are not variable as the wind. Russia's heart is not easily roused, but once on fire it does not soon grow cold. What has been joined together by blood and fire cannot be torn asunder by intrigue and calculation.

On the fields of devastated Poland, ethics have killed politics; if certain Polish and Russian political maniacs were to try in the future to sever the chains forged by this Russo-Polish drama, their efforts would be fruitless. This is our first victory.

It possesses, besides its obtruse value, a proportional value. It is the guarantee of victories still to come. Upon the Polish question, as upon Ararat, rests the Ark of all our hopes and desires set in motion by the general deluge.

All the break-downs and roads without issue of Russian politics, internal and external, seen from the heights of the Russo-Polish Ararat look like temporary misunderstandings.

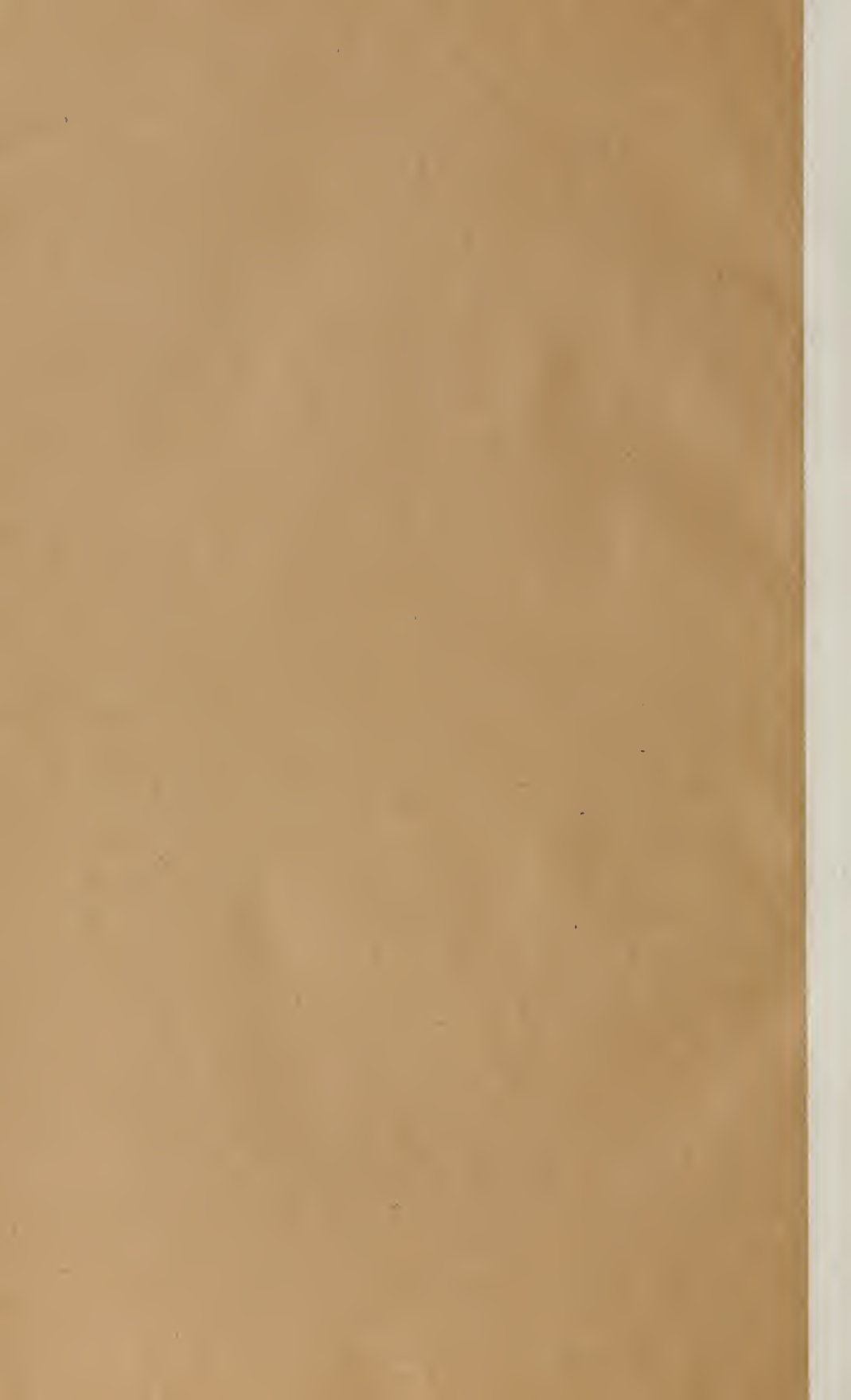
Here then is the reason why it seems to me that before Warsaw, Kalisz, Czestochowa, the fate is being decided not only of the Poles but also of the Russians.



And Jasna Góra,* its miraculous image glittering with precious stones, reveals itself to me as Ararat, crowned with an eternal diadem of jewels."

* Jasna Góra is the name of the hill-top above Czestochowa upon whose summit stands the Church of the Paulin Fathers containing the Sacred Image of Our Lady of Czestochowa. Prussian, Russian, Swede and Austrian, have all across long centuries, laid siege to this Hill of Light which has remained Poland's spiritual centre. This holy and symbolic spot is temporarily in the hands of the Prussians.

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